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ABSTRACT

This study followed 57 New Zealand candidates for a Ph.D. in Education through the years of writing their theses, focusing on their internal struggles and how these affected, and were affected by, those with whom they had close relationships. Their efforts to balance the scholarly, professional, interpersonal, and domestic dimensions of life, a struggle that has been described by Michel Foucault, did not occur in isolation. Interviews described how the various networks of social relations of their households and families were stretched to fit around their scholarship. Their research was carried out in multiple sites, but the working environment most frequently encountered was that of the university or college campus, where most of the subjects were teaching as well as studying. The demands of the job and the research added another kind of conflict to the Ph.D. process conflict. As these students learned to "speak the language" of doctoral research, they were subject to the norms of the discipline while finding their own places and selves. (Contains 29 references.) (SLD)

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Making Room:
The Place of Academic Study

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In the introduction to *The use of pleasure*, Foucault (1985) explored the 'passion for knowledge' that had driven him through the 'advances and detours' of his scholarly life. What motivated him, he explained,

> ...was curiosity – the only kind of curiosity, in any case, that is worth acting upon with a degree of obstinacy: not the curiosity that seeks to assimilate what it is proper for one to know, but that which enables one to get free of oneself. After all, what would be the value of the passion for knowledge if it resulted only in a certain amount of knowledgableness and not, in one way or another and to the extent possible, in the knower straying afield of himself? (Ibid, p. 8).

His passion for knowledge, this will to scholarship, brought personal and intellectual 'risks and dangers' as it carried him 'around detours' and down 'side roads'. Moving from this description of his own scholarly labours to his research on classical Greek and Roman medical, philosophical and 'self-help' texts, Foucault uncovers ancient advice on how to manage the very passion for knowledge he was experiencing, even as he studied it:

> This combative relationship with adversaries was also an agonistic relationship with oneself. The battle to be fought, the victory to be won, the defeat that one risked suffering - these were processes and events that took place between oneself and oneself. The adversaries the individual had to combat were not just within him or close by, they were part of him (Foucault, 1985, p.66).

Doing a big research project, such as a doctoral thesis, involves one in intense 'struggles between oneself and oneself'. As Maxine Greene (1995, p. 52) expressed it, "rationality itself is grounded in something pre-rational, prereflective – perhaps in a primordial perceived landscape". In another session at this conference (Middleton, 2001), I introduce my research on the experience of doing a PhD in Education in New Zealand from 1948 to 1998[1]. Conceptualising my 57 interviewees as what Greene called 'situated beings', I sketched the emergence of some of their key questions and concerns as they described 'living' them from childhood up until the time they enrolled for their doctorates. I argued that the research concerns of adults do not come solely from other people's books, or the fads and fashions of academic disciplines, but often take root, even in childhood, deep in the multi-layered strata of biographical experience. This paper follows

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[1] During 1999 I interviewed 56 people (32 men and 24 women) who had completed PhDs in Education in New Zealand. Another interview from a previous project was also (with consent) included, making a total of 57. The focus of the interviews was threefold – epistemological (the nature of their research topics, theories and methods); pedagogical (their experiences of supervision), and biographical dimensions (why they did PhDs, how they organised their time and space, etc) During 2000 the transcripts were edited, returned to the interviewees for comments and, if required, edited a second time. The data were then entered into NUD_IST. This paper is a first foray into the 'biographical' strand of the data base. The epistemological and pedagogical material will be explored in forthcoming publications, including a 'State of the Art' monograph I am writing for the NZARE series, provisionally entitled *Educating researchers: Education doctorates in New Zealand 1948 – 1998.*

the PhD candidates through into the years of writing their theses. In particular, it focuses on 'the struggles between oneself and oneself' and how these affected, and were affected by, those 'close by.' Such matters of 'closeness' or 'proximity - of one's bodily location in relation to others and one's emotional proximity to them – require attention to questions of space and time.

Studying space and thinking time

Dee, one of the youngest of the 57 PhD graduates interviewed, talked about her 'agonistic relationship with herself' in the early stages of her doctoral research:

> The first six months were terribly angst driven. I wandered around reading way out, this great breadth of Pacific Ocean reading, in order to try and write something that was fine and focussed and blazing - only to find that I couldn't bridge the gap between the Pacific Ocean of reading to this fine line of academic writing. And that was painful - trying to tame the ocean, trying to pull it into something that was going to be really focussed. That took six months and I felt like I was wasting time. I could hear the clock, " tick, tick, tick." And I could feel my anxiety levels rising 'cause I was on study leave to begin it and I just felt it was going nowhere. I got very fit. I went for lots and lots of runs and after each run I would think, " I've got it now and I know where I am going!" - only to go and do a classroom observation and find that I was more confused than ever.

This description of ' the processes and events that take place between oneself and oneself' evokes what David Harvey called 'the discursive activity of 'mapping space' "(1996, p. 111). There is poetry in Dee's account of this - a "Pacific Ocean of reading" – and metaphors of 'bridges', 'gaps', and 'fine lines.' There are also images of movement within and between spaces - peripatetic work-habits of 'wandering around' to read, and thinking while going 'on runs.' "Space", writes Harvey (1996, p. 267), " may be forgotten as an analytical category open to questioning, but it is omnipresent as an unquestioned category in everything we do." Similarly, Dee speaks of the pressures of 'institutional' time - the timeframe of her allocated weeks of study leave from her university job, the length of time university regulations allow for completion of a doctorate, and the minutiae of daily timetables in the schools in which she does her fieldwork. Following Foucault (1997), David Harvey called this "the practical rationalisation of space and time" (1990, p. 259).

Now let us listen to Bill, who was working as a university teaching assistant while doing his Ph.D:

> Everyone needs a little secret place. When I look back on my thesis I can see when I wrote bits and pieces of it. Much of it was written during long periods of recess when I wasn't teaching. A lot of it was written over December and January – we had three- term years, so we had our two weeks in May and two weeks in August and a lot of the work went on around that time. Physically, as a place in which to work, I did as much of it as I could in my office at the university and would put up a note on Monday saying that's my research day, when I do

> my writing. I would do work at home, we've got a reasonably large house and I've got my own study so I'd work there. People knew not to disturb me then...

The spatial and temporal conditions – the constraints and possibilities – for the production of Bill's thesis were contingent on the ebbs and flows of the university timetable. Bill's use of two spaces – an office on campus and a room in his home – involved complex strategies for managing his relationships with colleagues, students and loved ones. "Social relations", writes Harvey (1996, p. 112), "are always spatial and exist within a certain produced framework of spatialities. Put another way, social relations are, in all respects, mappings of some sort, be they symbolic, figurative, or material. The organisation of social relations demands a mapping so that people know their place."

The 'mapping' of spaces, relationships, and time in the course of doing a thesis is further illustrated by Anna. She liked to keep her university study and her domestic life:

> ...pretty separate in the sense I didn't ever really talk to Edward[2] [partner] about it. I talked to my friends about it. I didn't talk to Edward about it. I just came home and I became the mother. I enjoyed that, that separation actually. I became more and more depressed while I did the thesis and more and more isolated and more and more confused - that horrible sense of isolation. The mood of the thesis came home with me a lot and it's amazing what Edward put up with. I used to cry in the evenings sometimes, just desperate really. He must have felt that stress that I brought home with me.

In this, as in the previous examples, there is a struggle for balance between the scholarly, professional, inter-personal and domestic dimensions of everyday life – as well as the struggle with self.

This struggle for 'balance' was to the fore in Foucault's later work. He drew attention to the Greek virtue of 'moderation', which was "understood as an aspect of dominion over the self" and "was on an equal footing with justice, courage or prudence" (Foucault, 1985, p.81). Management of the self and relations with others were inextricably intertwined: "Around the care of the self there developed an entire activity of speaking and writing in which the work of oneself on oneself and communication with others were linked together" (Ibid, p. 51). Foucault' objects of concern – like mine in this paper – included the following:

> There is the care of the body to consider, health regimens, physical exercises without over-exertion, the carefully measured satisfaction of needs. There are the meditations, the readings, the notes that one takes on books or on the conversations one has heard, notes that one reads again later, the recollection of truths that one knows already, but that need to be more fully adapted to one's own life. ... There are also the talks that one has with a confidant, with friends, with a guide or director. Add to this the correspondence in which one reveals the state of ones soul, solicits advice, gives advice ... (Ibid, p. 51).

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[2] Pseudonym

Gordon, for example, "kept a notebook beside my bed, and a biro, and I used to wake up and think 'wow I've got this wording, then I'd scribble it down and read it in the morning. 'Oh, my god, I'd think - what is this load of nonsense?'" And Lenore, who was employed in a university department,

> wrote regularly, every day. People soon learnt that if my door was shut, I'd been working on something; I didn't want interruptions, which was usually when I was working on new stuff. And if my door was open I didn't mind people coming in, but I usually always had something I was working on on the screen. Then at night I would review what I'd written, I'd edit what I'd written, and then in the night while I was asleep, I'd plan my next morning's writing.

What can those of us who are involved with doctoral study – as students, supervisors, or administrators – learn from my interviewees' accounts of the 'care of the self' during the thesis-writing process? How have those of us who have graduated with New Zealand PhDs in education managed the thesis-writing process? Where, and when, did we read, think, and write? How did we reconcile the spatial, temporal, and relational demands – simultaneous and competing - of our thesis research, our work-places, and our domestic lives? How did our 'bodily selves' handle the physical and emotional stresses of 'mapping' the thesis into our everyday working and personal lives? How – in our multiple temporal, spatial and relational settings - did we approach "the elaboration of a form of relation to self" that enables an individual to fashion him or her-self "into a subject of ethical conduct?" (Foucault, 1985, p.251).

The Place of Academic Work

The terms 'space' and 'place' are subjects of a vast literature. David Harvey writes that: "A double meaning can ... be given to place as a) a mere position or location within a map of space-time constituted within some social process or b) an entity or 'permanence' occurring within and transformative of the construction of space-time" (Harvey, 1996, p. 294). Gillian Rose (1993, p. 294) explains that, within human geography, 'space' conventionally referred to the mapped abstraction and 'place' to the lived reality: " in contrast to spaces, which were represented through scientific rational measurements of location, places were full of human interpretations and significance". However, she adds, recent post-modern shifts In the social sciences have confused this binary (Haraway, 1997, p. 135).[3] Although I shall use 'space and place' somewhat inter-

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[3] "Geographical maps are embodiments of multifacted historical practices among specific humans and nonhumans. Those practices constitute spatiotenmporal worlds; that is, maps are both instruments and signifiers of spatialisation. Geographical maps can, but need not, be fetishes in the sense of appearing to be nontropic, metaphor-free representations, more or less accurate, of previously existing, 'real' properties of a world that are waiting patiently to be plotted. Instead, maps are models of worlds crafted through and for specific practices of intervening and particular ways of life" (Haraway, 1995, p.135).

changeably, I shall tend to use 'place' to refer to the locations to which individuals are emotionally attached and spiritually grounded (their homes, their lands etc); and 'space' to refer to abstractions and metaphors (head-space, etc).

As Harvey has expressed it (1996, p. 111):

> The discursive activity of 'mapping space' is a fundamental prerequisite to the structuring of any kind of knowledge. All talk about 'situatedness', 'location' and 'positionality' is meaningless without a mapping of the space in which those situations, locales and positions occur. And this is equally true no matter whether the space being mapped is metaphorical or real.

Fantasies and dreams about 'the academic' sometimes took the form of spatial metaphors – like Dee's 'Pacific Ocean of reading.' Interviewees spoke of their imagined, as well as their experienced, scholarly lives. "The role of the imagination", writes Maxine Greene, " is not to resolve, not to point the way, not to improve. It is to awaken, to disclose the ordinarily unseen, unheard and unexpected" (1995, p. 28). As a student, Roy compared higher education with what, during his childhood in the 1960s, was a glittering new urban shopping centre:

> when you got right to the top of the escalator you came out on a sort of rarefied floor. There were a few offices there and a beautiful plush carpet ... At that time I felt that maybe education was a bit like that. If you went up all these escalators, finally you'd get to this plush place at the top where everybody knew all the answers and wouldn't that be great? So I sort of just went into doing a Ph.D.

In the early 1960s, as a schoolboy, a future philosopher had haunted the bohemian quarter of his city, swept up in a fantasised Parisian existentialism:

> I do remember when coffee bars were all the rage, sitting in coffee bars, reading this book by Jean-Paul Sartre, his book called *Words*, his little autobiographical book. Well before I'd even really heard the term 'philosophy', here I was reading this book, smoking my cigarettes and being very attracted to the French kind of intellectual life, I guess. It's really quite odd, because where I got those images, I don't know, where I got those views - television I think to some degree.

However, the 'daily grind' of reading, thinking and writing, generally took place in less glamorous surroundings. For Sam the fantasy and the reality of a 'doctoral environment' were very different:

> You always imagined that if you actually do a PhD or something, which I guess as a kid must have seemed very grand, that you must be in a big academic house and have walls full of library books and comfortable settees and things. But that hasn't been the case at all. So actually managing the space of the thesis has always been a difficult one for me.

Rooms of their own?

Since the Enlightenment, the reading and writing scholar has commonly been portrayed as a monadic individual locked away to think and write in seclusion. Scholarly works have been characterised as products of individual, disembodied thinking minds and as grounded in "conceptions of originality and of the bounded individual with property in the self" (Haraway, 1997, p. 72). With reference to research by Wigley, David Harvey (1996, p. 228) explored how the emergence of the Enlightenment man of letters was accompanied by the " insertion of truly private and individualised male space - the study - into the house". The territory of the rational autonomous man of Enlightenment print-based culture, the study was "an intellectual space beyond sexuality and the power of the woman, it was the space of an isolated male identity engaged in writing" (Ibid, p. 228). When, in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, intellectual women sought admission to a 'rational man's education,' a 'room of one's own' (Woolf, 1928) became an object of feminist demand. "It was," wrote Harvey, "from this kind of space that a certain kind of 'monadic' discourse became possible" (1996, p. 228). The dedicated study-room in the home signalled "a withdrawal from the 'chaos' of daily life and the shaping of knowledge and identity through the production of texts produced in enclosed, secure, and very private spaces" (Ibid, p. 228).

Max had "split from my wife and was living alone." He said that, for him, "there was a kind of mystique to do with the Ph.D. itself which I saw in quasi sort of monastic religious terms - this kind of process that you entered into with the material that you were dealing with." He used marijuana to intensify his focus, as he found that it enlarged his 'inner space':

> I was smoking quite a lot of dope and various other things. All of that channelled me into almost adopting a sort of reverence to the text and engaging in a kind of idolatry with the [theorists I was studying], and that's really obsessive. It's like a stalker, an academic stalker, stalking his texts, following him around, reading his thoughts, reading their correspondence and letters and that sort of thing. I think it's totally unhealthy.

He explained how he had "very little money" and described his 'monastic cell' as improvised:

> I was 'on the bones of my arse', so to speak. I came across this wonderful idea which was to take one of those old doors down and to have a couple of chains at either end and to hang it from a wall. So you had this huge kind of desk and you could anchor it and it was an absolutely brilliant work-space. I had this old villa. It was quiet and it was a great working place and I worked from home basically.

Freda and her husband "built a house. I wanted a study and the architect drew the study out of it, eliminated the study from the building plans. I said, ' I need a study, ' and he said, 'People just think they need one, but they never really use them'. I fought and I got this tiny little compact space."

Harold also sought isolation and, like several others, had "a bach out the back, a little outside room, so I used to work out there because I could spread my paper round. But it was unheated; it was unbearable. It was not insulated in summer - it was like an oven even with all the windows opened and in winter it was like an icebox. So it was hard to work." Similarly, James had a study at home that was outside: "It was a little sort of detached den outside the house. So I used to retreat out there." He described how his insulation from the family impressed his growing children, who, now adults:

> can still remember their mother saying, 'Don't disrupt Daddy, he's working on his PhD". They never knew what this PhD meant but they can still remember that Daddy was working on his PhD, he was buried away out in his study. I can remember working out there often late at night and so on when the children were in bed. But I didn't do any PhD work in my office [on campus] because I found that I had to keep the two things separate.

Some, whose homes and work-places did not afford such seclusion, sought it elsewhere. One man, whose wife worked in a profession, said that he had: " spent weekends and weekends in my wife's office in town because it was the quietest place I could be." Similarly, a man with a high-powered (non-academic) job as well as young children had worked in a friend's house:

> Every Sunday I would pack up my kit bag and I would go over there. I would try and start work by about 8.30am or 9.00am and I would work through until 5.00pm or 5.30pm every Sunday and every public holiday. One of the difficult things about that, and I'd never recommend it, is because you've got to engross yourself when you're writing it up, It's got to become a thing that you become immersed in. But with me it never could be, because I had my job.

The study – as Harvey and others had argued – had been designed for the rationally autonomous scholarly man. In the 1920s, on the basis of her studies of the lives of women novelists, Virginia Wolfe (1978, p.64) lamented that "if a woman wrote, she would have to write in the common sitting room". For Wolfe, the comings and goings of others in the household were distractions and intruded into the writing process. However, some of those interviewed – both women and men – disliked feeling 'cut off' and preferred to feel 'in contact' with their families. For example, Mary observed that "I've got a study now, but I don't use it because I'm attuned to working at the table. I don't mind a bit of noise and music and people coming in and out. But that's probably because I grew up in a big family where you had to work like that." Christine described how she:

> became quite adept ... at managing to write in my study with four or five rather large kids thumping around the rest of the house. I am a person who can write for half an hour and get up and bake a batch of scones and go back and write for another hour and a half - no problem. I can write in a messy situation and I learnt that I had to do that. That was [also] the

> way I'd operated [as a senior teacher] - going into the study to write policies and going out to check the dinner was OK and going back to write more policies. You learn to do that.

A number of the fathers interviewed[4] felt similarly. Noel explained: "I had a little study off the bedroom at home. It was a purpose designed place, although I found it very difficult to work in it because it was too disconnected from that life that was still going on around me. I worked very comfortably with having a lot of things happening around me." Similarly, Craig described how he and his wife "had a fourth bedroom which we allocated as a study for the duration of that project. That was a god send because it was actually adjacent to the family room so I was always connected still to the family." Nigel, too, had "decided that most people's lives got wrecked by living in libraries, so what I did was I simply went to the library and I photocopied all the articles. I brought them home and I read them there." He explained that:

> I never worked at the office and always worked at home. I built a kind of a bedroom/study, which was right adjacent to the dining room. The door was always open so I was always accessible. My children were aged round 18-20 at the time, so they were not young children ... Most of the work was occurring say 7.00pm through to 9.00pm and then some days I'd get up at 4.00am in the morning and do a couple of hours before breakfast.

Not all, however, were able to work at home. Some of the full-time students, who were trying to sustain themselves with scholarships and casual employment, used library space and/or departmental graduate rooms. For example: "I was in a one-bedroom bed-sit. I couldn't afford anything more. I had no space to work at so whatever space the university could provide me with as a PhD student was my space. And so my thesis was largely completed at the university rather than in my living area." Some had acted as hostel wardens – earning free board in exchange for what were often minimal duties. Emma was young and single and had won:

> a total free fellowship, no responsibilities! It was there for me to be basically a role model for the other students without having to do anything - to be a role model. I just had to sit at the high table. It was very formal ... Girls had to be in dresses and boys a shirt and tie ...It was a very safe secure environment. I thrived in that homely environment and I could focus on my PhD. There was a cleaner to clean the room and that was great.

While for some, it was a question of 'making room' wherever they could, for others the decision to work on campus rather than at home was a deliberate choice. For example, Gordon said that he had written his thesis "mostly in my office at the university, because I tried to keep a division between work and home. I have had a study at home but it is usually set up with my

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[4] 30 of the interviewees had young children living at home; 13 had no children; others had teenaged or adult children. Six were single in the sense of never-married; 4 moved into new relationships during the thesis; 5 were divorced at the time of the thesis; ten marriages or long-term partnerships broke up during the thesis.

[hobby]... I don't really like being in my study at home for university work - I see a tension between things." Several other [illegible] also liked to keep domestic life and academic work apart. Barry's wife was also a student and needed the use of their domestic study-space. Barry described how he accommodated this: "We never had any difficulty in negotiating the fact that family time was in the early evening. I would often come back to work very late - I would come back [on campus] at 8.00pm and stay there until well after midnight."

The location of the candidate's work was sometimes influenced by the technology available to them at the time and as appropriate to the stage the research was at. Ralph wrote his thesis at a time when handwriting was the norm:

> I was a family man, struggling on a junior lecturer's salary ... I didn't have a study or anything like that. Most of my thesis writing was done on a card table in whichever room was not being used in the house - lot of it in the bedroom. In other words, I had minimal facilities. I would disappear and work on my thesis and my wife would bring up the children.

In the case of Gary and his family, the clatter of a manual typewriter at night was a concern, so he wrote:

> at work, because it's so close. What I did was to finish work, come home and then go over there again. I wrote it all on a mechanical typewriter. I would go back over there at about 8.00pm and set everything up and then get to work. I'd come home and the house would be in darkness. If I was on a roll, if the writing was going nicely, I'd write away till midnight, 1.00am or something. I'd always stop at an easy place, so that you flopped and the next day was just straight-forward. I'd do that, come back, and I could do that every night. And I'd go and work on it in the weekend.

The introduction of mainframe computer technology in the early 1980s had further implications for the location of students' data-processing work. A student at a provincial university described having to access a mainframe computer at set hours:

> Because my data needed statistical analyses - no mainframe computer here - we used to use the Burroughs computer at a big city University. It was a thing about as big as a room. We used to have a telephone link from 5.00pm to 6.00pm every night - that was my campus's bought time. You would get a telephone link established. We had these punch card machines and a thing like a typewriter. You would put all of the data into these cards by typing them in. And then they would go into big racks and into this machine. You would work out - it was hair raising - the instructions to the computer. It would proceed to analyse data at that end and then masses of paper would pour out onto the floor on the machine at this end.

Freda, a young mother, described how, during the statistical analysis phase of her work, she had spent nights in the campus computer laboratory and had slept only "one hour a night six days a week for six months." With a young baby in the house, "How do you ever get the uninterrupted time to do the kind of theorising I needed to do?" She explained:

> I used to love it, it was one of the great privileges of my life. I would be on this mainframe and I would get hours with not a soul. At first you had to get through the barrier of tiredness and I'd take to the coffee. Then I remember the sadness when the birds would start to sing and you'd know that the sunrise was coming and I had to stop... I'd drive home ... and be there when the baby woke up and set her up for the babysitter. She wasn't missing me more than any other baby was because I was away while she was sleeping ... I must have been manic to do it, but it was just magic. And that's the way I brought all the data together.

This account vividly highlights the intertwining of academic knowledge (the research methods that demanded statistical analysis); the form, ownership and location of the technology she needed; the spatial and temporal partitioning of the university as an institution; and her domestic situation as mother of a young baby. Or, in David Harvey's terms:

> Places are constructed and experienced as material ecological artefacts and intimate networks of social relations. They are the focus of the imaginary, of beliefs, longings and desires (most particularly with respect to the psychological pull and push of the idea of 'home'). They are an intense focus of discursive activity, filled with symbolic and representational meanings, and they are a distinctive product of institutional, social, and political-economic power (Harvey, 1996, p. 316).

Place, then, is a key consideration in any exploration of the 'care of the scholarly self.' How, then, are the reading and writing bodies of PhD students positioned – in the sense of both physical location and their 'head-space' - in relation to families, friends and colleagues?

Relating Families:

The crafting of the self as scholar does not usually occur in isolation. "Foucault's work on ethics, " writes Cris Mayo, " is not the return of a liberal subject but rather a subject formed in relation to others" (2000, p. 116). Interviewees described how various 'intimate networks of social relations' within households and families were stretched to fit around their theses. Even the planning for parenthood sometimes took a thesis in the family into account. Ross said that he:

> was fortunate that when I was doing my PhD - perhaps it was planned you might say - we didn't have a family. Shortly after I finished my PhD, we both decided it was time to have a family. I admire people who have family commitments and do a thesis, I really do. It is exceptionally difficult and I don't know whether I could have done that or, had I done that, it would have taken far longer to complete the thesis. We chose not to have a family then. That meant we were older first time parents, which has its advantages but also has its disadvantages in terms of lower energy levels. In that way there was a number of things that the PhD, in terms of your own lifestyle, changed and had to be factored in.

While Ross and his wife had planned their family around the thesis, Felix – already a father of young children - had prioritised getting the thesis done in the minimum time. His choice of research methodology took this into account, and the design of the family home maximised his participation in family life. He explained: "I was determined for my family's sake to do the thing in

three or four years or not at all and I thought that if I had gone for three or four or five years and it hadn't been wrapped up I would have thrown it away. It wasn't worth that long ten years sacrifice - it had to be done quickly."

Many of those with children living at home said they had created 'space' through organising their time, as Felix explained:

> I worked incredible hours - crazy hours I suppose, but I must have been young enough and fit enough to take it. I set up an office at home in a bedroom so that I never went away from the house to work apart from my standard work hours. Weekends, late at night, I always worked at home because I wanted to keep the family connection and not always be seen to be away somewhere.

Management of time and space in relation to the schedules and needs of partners and children was complex. One mother – married to another thesis student – explained the family decision to send their child to boarding school: "It was easier just psychologically to know that she was safe, getting a good education, and didn't need to worry about what her parents were doing." She told of how: "Our daughter used ring up from boarding school saying, 'Have you finished, have you finished, have you finished?' "

Several other couples were both students and/or both holding full-time or part-time jobs. Owen and his wife juggled two jobs, child-care and his thesis. With one car between them in a town with poor public transport, the household's daily organisation was complicated:

> I had the morning shift so I would have a lecture and I timed the notes so that the baby required feeding (we had bottles) - just at the right time. Five minutes later you could have a break and then back into another hour's talk. It all worked quite well really. So it was about half and half ... It was two buses, you see, and so I had to decide whether I was going to work at home or work at university.

Simon's life became similarly complicated when his children were little and his wife got a part-time job. He described an arrangement whereby:

> one of us would always be at home when the kids came home. In particular I used to do two things. I'd have a meal with the family at night, I'd put the kids down and read them stories. And as they got older I'd have a recreational time with them ...I'd spend a period every day where I would go and hit a ball around with them. I'm also a tramper and a climber and we built those in to our family lifestyle. I just made strenuous efforts to get a balance. I was also a runner. I used to run every day between work, family, recreation and spending time with the kids. It meant burning the midnight oil, but I was a bit younger then and you just did it.

Kate – a full-time doctoral student - and her self-employed husband also shared responsibility for organising the children's schedules and care. They also made use of public child-care facilities:

> I had particular days in the week where I would pick them up at 3.00pm. They had an after-school programme some days, but other days they'd come home and be in the house while I

> worked so that they didn't always have to be at the after-school programme. So there were days when I had those kinds of breaks and I pretty much would stop work about 5.00pm, 5.30pm. But then, in the later part of the Ph.D, I would work every night as well to get through it. But I was really clear about weekends not being part of the deal. I would always have those off.

She devised regular daily routines to structure her working day and explained that:

> One of the things that was really important was I walked the kids to school and then would come back and start work. That was a demarcation to the beginning of the day. That worked really well. And I'd find it really hard, if I didn't walk them to school, to actually get started. But it was quite easy for me to leave a state of chaos in the kitchen and start work.

Others – divorced or married to a partner with children from a previous relationship – demarcated their working time on a weekly or fortnightly basis according to the presence of absence of the children. For example, Maureen was a stepmother whose stepdaughter "came every other weekend. This sometimes was tricky in terms of the space because she was in my study". Maureen explained how she and her step-daughter – an academically able high school student – accommodated to each other's spatial requirements: " I put the computer in the kitchen because as a teenager she liked to sleep quite long hours; sleep in in the morning. But it wasn't too bad - it was pretty good. She is very high achieving so she would sit and we would study together." Jeanette, a divorcee, shared custody of the children with her former husband on a week-about basis and this demarcated her 'on' and 'off' times for her thesis: "in my non child week I worked hard - I had no children, no relationship and so I could. No social life and that's how I got it done pretty quickly. So I wasn't left with trying to juggle everything all the time. Though the week that I had the children I didn't do any PhD work." However, in the final writing-up phase she had needed to modify this somewhat. She did this by writing a page a day:

> I had quite a clinical approach to that ... It got done. I don't think it impacted at all on the quality of it and it made it manageable and I survived! ... The kids would also know: "Have you done your page yet mum?" Because I would start once they had gone to bed at 8.00pm or if I'd managed to have any time during the day. And I was also getting up at 5.00am or 6.00am in the morning.

She explained that, for her, the thesis "wasn't all encompassing, it wasn't my life's work, it wasn't any of those things." She was able, she said, to compartmentalise it in her life:

> It was a part of what I was doing. I was passionate about it, but I was equally able to put it aside and treat it quite like any other task that needed to be done. It was just applying myself. When I was writing up, I knew how long it had to be and I divided it by the number of days I had left. I knew it had to grow by that much a day so I wouldn't go to bed at night until it had!

Some of the women interviewed had been solo parents throughout the thesis process. For these women, children's bed-times created working space:

> I was a single mother living in a little two-bed-roomed house. My daughter would tootle off to bed ... I remember writing on my bed and in the lounge and the dining room in the summer because it was cold in winter, and so I wrote it late. It was good. Those hours have always been good for me and they still are.

Another solo mother said that her daughter "used to comment on the fact that she did have to go to bed this early. But she always went to bed early and so basically once she was asleep around 8.30pm. I worked and I guess it was a hobby and a passion, because I really loved the research."

Those who lived with partners or spouses told of how their intimate relationships were affected by the thesis work. For some, their partners had been strongly supportive and several commented that they could not have completed without that support and encouragement. A few of the men had wives who were qualified typists and these women had typed thesis drafts for them: "My wife always remembers that she would be typing with one hand and rocking the pram with the other. So it really was a family affair, and the thesis dominated family life." Mark – one of those who had to work nights on a campus main-frame computer – regretted that he had been forced to work

> at night a lot and every weekend and when it was holidays - it wasn't holidays because it was the only time you got a chance to do anything. For a long slog of 5 or 6 years you were asking a lot of your family. And I got a lot of help from Diane [wife]. She'd do a moan now and again. It was always that I needed a break. But it was really her that needed the break. It took a lot.

Similarly, a married woman paid tribute to her "wonderful husband", who took their son to school every day and "managed everything to do with him and school." She had additional help from her own mother, who lived nearby and "was very busy being my house manager during the doctoral time. She literally managed a lot of things that gave me freedom and time." A solo mother told of her strongly supportive extended family and friends, including: "a great mother - she was wonderful. And also other family - my brother and sister-in-law, taking my daughter for holidays and Mum coming over and looking after her." And for a Pacific Islands student, " it wasn't just my work but it was a family project. Because without my brothers' financial support I would never have got a PhD. So on a personal level it was the outcome of the family effort and cooperation."

Some of the interviewees had children who had grown up and left home. Older students, however, continued to experience family pressures as they lived through the changes characteristic of mid-life. For example, Margaret became a grandmother: "Our grandchildren were born during the process of doing the PhD, which raises the issue of maintaining balance with the rest of your life. " Older students might also be faced with the ill-health of their own parents, as in

the case of Margaret's "mother's illness - I did feel I was consumed by this study at the time when I might have wanted to give time elsewhere."

Some students were members of broader communities that held high expectations of them, such as one single woman from a Pacific Island community:

> Knowing that I don't have a specific lecture time I think my church community expected me to be there to do things for them - translate, take people to the doctors whenever they needed a translator. ... I was also doing some work for the church ... In terms of my own upbringing, I was expected to be at church. But I was able to explain to my church leaders that I would not be able to make it to church most Sundays, that I could just come and go to the meeting when they discussed the [job I was doing for them] and all that. I think I had an open communication with my community knowing really well the time that was required for me to do the work.

It was not uncommon for families to be described as under stress. One of the mothers explained that: "I wasn't there... I was physically there, but my brain wasn't. I'd wander out and talk to people, talk to kids, kids were sick of it. " Many marriages were stretched to, and beyond, the limit. Lola described how: "My marriage just about disappeared. My marriage became very, very fragile, and there was a time that I thought I was going to collapse myself." She described this as resulting from: " the loneliness of the PhD exercise." She said that, "one of the reasons that my marriage became at risk was the depth that I was getting into my topic - my partner couldn't quite keep up with it, and actually wasn't interested enough to keep up with it." This issue of being physically present, but mentally and emotionally 'elsewhere,' was not uncommon, and, as Zelda explained: "it leads to a lack of understanding. You're in another head-space." Her thesis " was perceived by my ex- husband as being 'a bit of a hobby', whereas I took it very seriously indeed. And so we started having clashes about use of time and where I should be."

Several husbands were described as actively attempting to sabotage their wives' studies. For example, one woman's husband:

> didn't want a partner who was doing a doctorate - that was just totally unacceptable to him... He refused ever to do any child-care if I was working on my doctorate or to support me to work on my doctorate. So I got a half time job and had to bring somebody into the house to do the child-care while he was at home.

Two of the other women described being forced to choose between the thesis and the husband. Sophie, for example, had young children, including a small baby:

> I had all the struggles of child-care. I had a husband who was unemployed but unwilling to do very much about anything and, until the very last year of my PhD, I was supporting the family. During that last year he finally got a job that was able to support us. It was very interesting. He was finally earning money and he became a different person. I found I just simply couldn't maintain being married to him because he expected me then to be a good

> housewife because I wasn't earning money. It was very strange. I was in the middle of trying to finish my PhD, and so finally said, "This is just crap!" and we separated.

Similarly, Leslie explained that, when she became a student,

> My husband didn't know at all what to make of this and, to cut a long story short, two things happened. The first one was I knew I'd found my future. I fell absolutely in love with [university]. I used to touch the stones of the university and say, "Wow, this is fantastic! I can't believe I'm here!" I felt so lucky and loved the learning so much. I was just invigorated by it and I made lots of friends really quickly. And the second thing is that my husband fell out of love with it and basically he said, "You have to make a choice," and I made it like that. No second thoughts. I fell totally out of love with him, as cold as a bloody stone. Then I had a bad feeling about him. I just simply did not want to spend any more of my life with him.

Around 20% of those interviewed had experienced the break-up of a marriage or other long-term primary relationship during the thesis research and writing process. This was not always seen in terms of 'cause and effect', as Lorraine explained:

> My marriage broke up. And it's never to know whether or not the reason I started all this [the PhD] is because things weren't that great at home or that I wasn't maybe that challenged at home in terms of thinking. I wouldn't like to say if either one was the cause of it. It might have been the relationship caused the PhD rather than that causing the breakdown of the relationship I suspect.

For Godfrey, the marriage break-up:

> wasn't connected as much in that I was married to the thesis at all. But it was connected as much as I was under a lot of stress and how the relationship-nurturing was put under pressure. I was, I guess, not available as much to give in the relationship. But it also heightened the feeling of wanting things in the relationship.

One of the divorced women still "had big questions about how much it [the thesis] had had to do with muddling up the family life. You know - those whole lot of guilt things centred around- there's always issues anyway, there's no balancing families and children and money and all that kind of thing." However, despite the trauma of a break-up, some of the divorcees who did not have dependent children, or who now had days or weeks apart from their children, found that living alone created space for work. One woman described the break-up of her "main partnership" as helping her "in a perverse sort of way". Although it was a "personally devastating time" for her, in compensation, she "just sunk myself into my work to help deal with it. So I became incredibly productive."

Work-places and colleagues:

Research work was carried out across multiple sites. Three had done field-work in the Pacific; some had visited libraries in Australia and elsewhere; many had travelled away from home in New Zealand. Tina did fieldwork overseas and "was away from home for long periods of time. I had a

lap-top and did my writing at nights or the hour and a half it took me on the train every day, it was really good." Gordon loved working in the archives, where " the staff were great, the environment was superb ... I loved the feeling of working with old documents. I liked the idea of thinking about, and working with, a whole selection of things spread across the table, and the challenge for me was to put together something and make a set of arguments, a thesis out of that." And Anna was: "very much in love with libraries. I love the smell of libraries. I loved having my own office. I liked pens and paper and I liked reading. I liked the whole idea of it and I liked the experience of it at some kind of visceral, sort of almost aesthetic level."

However – other than the home and family environment - the most commonly talked-about working environment was the university or college campus. For, at the time of producing their theses, the majority of the interviewees were also holding full-time or part-time academic positions, or relying on casual academic work to supplement their scholarships[5]. Those who were scholarship students, and/or casual employees (tutors, markers, research assistants etc) were often in and around their departments and used department offices and computers. How, then, were collegial relationships and thesis work accommodated to each other?

Nearly all of those who had done their PhDs in times of labour shortages in higher education (1950s – early 1980s) had done them while employed as full-time staff in universities or teachers colleges. Donald was a tenured university lecturer at the time he did his PhD and explained that this situation brought particular personal pressures: "The expectations that one has of one's self rise and your Ph.D has to *be something*, because after all you're a staff member of some years standing. Your Ph.D has to be so good - it's got to be twice as good as any other person's."

University staff described the demands of teaching and the thesis as coming into conflict. Barry's account was typical. He explained that in the first few years of his teaching, " - the PhD, officially I was registered but I was not active. I was just too busy teaching and doing community things and finding time to be a parent and so on. It wasn't until I had my first period of sabbatical leave that I really had time and space to develop what I wanted to do." Many – having come into academic work from a school teaching background (Middleton, 2001) - were highly dedicated teachers. For example, Noel found it difficult to make progress on his thesis. He said that: "Part of the slowness was because I wanted to be a good teacher- I always have. So that always had the

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[5] In total, 21 of those interviewed (17 men and 4 women[5]) had done their doctorates while holding full-time university teaching and research positions. Another 12 (9 men and 3 women) had held various limited term appointments (junior lectureships, teaching assistantships etc) that were designed to offer doctoral candidates work experience, financial support, and (at least in theory), the time and space to complete their theses within the allocated time-frame. Ten of those interviewed (4 men and 6 women) had done their theses while employed full-time in teachers colleges or polytechnics; two of the candidates had held other full-time employment; and 11 (all women) had depended on scholarships and casual work to sustain them.

upper hand in terms of priorities. I wasn't really prepared to compromise that for the purpose of the research." Sometimes, however, high-pressured teaching-related tasks could be used to advantage in the thesis-writing process, as a teaching assistant explained:

> I got so stuck I just had to leave it for a while. Fortunately both those times when I got stuck were when a huge marking load came in. I would spend the next three to four weeks solidly marking student assignments then know that I had a clear space to get back to my thesis. And in that time I'd been wrestling with my problem over and over and I had more of an idea about how to tackle it. It was one good thing about being able to separate for some time from my PhD studies, by doing something different - marking undergraduate essays, tutoring, preparing lectures - not having the time to work on the PhD. That happened twice for me. I was perhaps lucky, but it told me that I was getting a bit stale. It was time to have a break and to do something else.

While most described having had at least some supportive colleagues in universities, several had felt almost completely isolated in their departments. A few described the climate in their departments with respect to them and their work as hostile. One junior lecturer had 'fallen out' with the department he was in and had been given a light teaching load: "I could have died in my office and my body rotted and once they'd smelt the smell they might have found me! I had very few lectures for which I was grateful because I got on with my work." One scholarship student, whose theoretical perspective went against the grain of what was fashionable in the department, found it a very isolating place: "because nobody else seemed to be interested in [my work]. I was always on the wrong side because everyone in Education was a socialist or post modern. So in some ways it was very lonely. I didn't find anyone to talk to." Before the mid-1980s, there were few women staff in university education departments (Middleton, 1990). As is documented in the literature (Christian-Smith & Kellor, 1999; Lee, 1998), some of these women said that some male colleagues found social relations with them awkward, for example: " I never knew what to do with – 'If you were a male student, I'd invite you back for supper"[6].

Before the 1990s, when teachers colleges became degree-granting institutions or amalgamated with universities, it was very difficult for their staff to create space to do doctoral study. College staff who had done their doctorates 'on the job' between the 1970s and the early 1990s spoke of lack of support from their institutions and negative attitudes in the work-place culture. Mark explained that in his college, "there was absolutely nothing in the way of any

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[6] Deborah Lee (1998, pp 302, 303) reviews research and, following Levy, writes that: "a close relationship with an academic sponsor fosters the development of an appropriate academic self-image and is an essential element in the socialisation of a career academic ... However, if male supervisors and female students socialise together, this can be misinterpreted as sexual interaction – to the detriment of the woman rather than the man." Supervision will be discussed in future publications from this project. The dynamic described by Lee, however, was sometimes described as characteristic of male-female collegial relations even when doctoral supervision was not involved.

encouragement from anybody. You were on your own." Like several of the other lecturers in colleges right up to the mid-1990s, Mark had experienced "an anti academic feeling about the place." Like Mark, Christopher had experienced a work-place in which the "social custom or the culture pattern was reflected in views such as 'Oh, he's got nothing else to do.' Or, 'His work load's not big enough and so on." At a different college again, Craig had "had the impression that if you were doing something like a doctorate at the same time as you are supposed to be doing a full time load people thought you could not possibly have been doing your work properly. You must have been short-changing, you must have been swinging the lead somehow." For all of these men, as Christopher expressed it: "You had to keep quiet about the fact that you were doing a PhD... It's kind of the wharfie syndrome: don't appear to be doing something well that no one else is doing." They said that "you did it on the quiet and other people were obviously doing it on the quiet as well. Nobody asked how were you doing, do you need any help?" A typical comment from this group was: "Very few people knew I was even doing it right to the end and then when I was awarded the thing I think there was quite a bit of surprise that I had even been doing one."

However, from the early to mid-1990s, with the advent of college degrees and amalgamations with universities, the attitude in some colleges and former colleges had changed. Some of the more recent graduates interviewed worked in stand-alone colleges that awarded NZQA- approved degrees. Several offered comments like "the college has always been extremely supportive of me, this college I think is very supportive of any individual." Others commented that, although the attitude was encouraging, work conditions and lack of resources made finding the time a struggle:

> It's an encouragement on one level - they're really supportive emotionally about it - but the resourcing isn't there. They try to find the resourcing and we've now got it so that you can get half a term ... I used part of that for collecting data and then I suddenly realised that if I did that I wouldn't have it for the write up. And it's the writing up - that's when you need it. But the college actually at that time was very good, they were really supportive.

Another recent graduate, who worked in a college, found, that in a work-culture that included very few people with doctorates, "people didn't know what it was I was doing. They couldn't understand how big it was, didn't have any idea. So I think there was, if I was frank with you, the suspicion and some jealousy. And I certainly think there's some jealousy now that I've finished." This interviewee's feeling after completion was described as: "quite depressed for about three months. I thought, 'Oh well, so what, who cares?' I do feel better now." Some worked in amalgamated institutions and found that the doctorate was a benefit to the new university School, as well as 'opening doors' to promotion within a university career hierarchy:

> Particularly subsequent to amalgamation, I have been able to use that doctorate to the benefit of other people - to the benefit of students and other staff in a way that is very

> gratifying to me professionally. I get a lot of satisfaction out of that. And it led to a senior academic position and obviously contributed to that.

Some of the graduates – from college, university, and other working environments - spoke about a continuing sense of ambivalence in relation to their colleagues even after they had completed their doctorates. Departments, as Peter Scott has put it, are "more than administrative units; they also institutionalise the intellectual values, cognitive structures and social practices of academic disciplines" (1995, p. 160). Several explained that the culture of 'egalitarianism' in their work environments pressured people to hide their achievements. One teachers' college head of department explained how he resisted this in an attempt to change the culture: " At college they were rather anti. I insisted that people with doctorates use 'Doctor' on their door 'cause I was head of department. I said, " I'm going to have mine," and a colleague was going to have hers. I said, 'And it might motivate a few other people to get theirs.' " This was also characteristic of the 'leftist faction' of at least one university department, as Anna explained:

> I never graduated and I didn't go to the graduation ceremony because in those days we didn't even put 'Dr' on our doors. [My chief supervisor] never had Dr, he always had his first name, because he was very egalitarian and democratic and we didn't believe in all this bull-shit about hierarchies of the university and that kind of stuff. So I sort of copied him in a way. I wasn't going to walk around in these elitist gowns and pretend I was better than anybody else. I wasn't going to have Dr on my door and I never used 'Doctor' unless I absolutely had to. I never used it, like some people - the minute they got a doctorate they would go out booking train tickets for Dr so-and-so.

Conversely, others described how, when they had been staff members without doctorates, they had had some colleagues who had treated them as invisible and: " when I got my PhD there were some colleagues in this Department who spoke to me for the first time." Others spoke of a sense that, as academics who had achieved doctorates, they were seen as having 'served their apprenticeship' and as new, fully initiated 'members of the club.' For some, however, this attitude was seen as undermining the achievement, and quality, of their thesis research. Perry described how his Head of department had said to him: "When I finished my thesis - the day I finished it - I told [the COD], ' It is all there!' etc, etc. 'Right,' he said, 'Now you can do some real research!' I think he meant it was an apprenticeship and now you were only a real researcher once you had got past your PhD. It didn't count as real research in itself." Similarly, Felicity said:

> My doctorate was never a pretend piece of research! When I was photocopying the final document the COD came down to the photocopier. He said, 'Oh, is that your doctorate? Oh, nobody ever reads those!" And I said, 'Well I don't think of mine that way. ' He said, ' They never make a difference. You'll hate it by the time you finish it.' I said, ' I love my doctorate. It's just the beginning!' And I had a vision for these studies ...to develop this theory ...

Gaining their doctorates was described by some as meaning "a lot more work. " This was especially highlighted by Maori and Pacific Islands PhD graduates, who found themselves in demand as 'ethnic representatives' on multiple committees: " in terms of trying to survive within institutions, being the only one with a PhD was very tough.. We had three Pacific academic staff and there was a high expectation for you to be involved. I was a member of the Academic Board, a member of that because you're Pacific with a PhD." Similarly, a Maori graduate commented that: "now everyone wants me to be on their committees and so on. So there's a political dimension to this in the sense of I was very aware of status inside the academy."

Those who did not work in universities, colleges or polytechnics offered additional perspectives on what their PhDs meant in the work-place. A school principal commented that his peers had strongly encouraged him to call himself 'Dr': "They said, ' look - we don't know of any other primary school principal who's finished a PhD. It's important. It's actually not a bad thing, when you're trying to promote the profession and promote the level of qualifications and the standing of the profession.' They said, 'you must use it.'" A graduate who ran his own consultancy business said, with respect to his doctorate: "I need it these days for corporate status. But I have to be very careful that it's not patronising because I lost one job. The woman said to me, 'You've got a PhD, therefore you wouldn't be practical!" A young graduate seeking work in a contracting labour market lamented: "At darker moments I see it as a thing that actually shuts off employment possibilities because I have this view that if you say to people that you've got a PhD if you're applying for work outside of universities and so on, then they might see me as being over qualified." Similarly: "I used to believe that it was important but I don't think this is an age where doctoral knowledge counts for anything in teacher education." And, as one university staff member put it, "In terms of how society values PhDs - I don't think they do terribly much. It is certainly not reflected in salaries or other forms of recognition."

Some talked about how the title was regarded out in the wider public arena. Several of women found the title " always useful being a girl. 'Is that Ms?', no, you know, 'it's doctor'. " It enabled them to avoid the 'Miss, Mrs or Ms dilemma.' And several commented that: "It has led to me being upgraded from tourist class on airline flights, to first in one case and business class in perhaps a couple more, all because of the 'Dr'." The status of the title in the community was also described as follows:

> Because you've got a PhD, people do - you may be saying exactly the same thing as somebody else who hasn't got one - but people actually respect it more. It's something that shouldn't really happen, but it is a fact of life. And it's meant that doors have opened in ways that they possibly don't if you don't have a PhD. I think we live in a society that respects titles, whether or not it's the right thing to do.

It was also described as a 'gift' to graduates' immediate and extended families: "My parents were both very chuffed ... I'm the first direct line in my family, I think, to have even graduated from university. I sometimes think, 'Well there we are - semi -literate Scottish farm labourer to Ph.D is probably a lot of New Zealand families' stories'." And: "My Mum just cried and cried and I said, 'why are you crying'? She said that she never thought that a daughter would ever get a PhD and be working at university. And my father's response was, 'This is a blessing for the family.'"

The doctorate, then, carried multiple meanings – professional, personal, familial and intellectual. As Grant summarised it,

> It created career opportunities obviously. That was a major part for me. There is quite a major sense of closure being a person who didn't get School Certificate and feeling quite ordinary and average in the way of academic competency. So having a PhD was a bit like saying, ' I can close that piece of my unfinished business'. And obviously the whole business about completing and the label of being 'Doctor' and all that stuff. At the moment it arrived, that became less important, but, if I look back on it, I would probably still be motivated by it in that way. It is really opportunity, standing, personal completion and satisfaction. It has also given me confidence in the work that I do. I have pushed myself into new areas of theoretical analysis and am able to be much more confident in my criticism, my critique work. So there's that sense of having arrived at the point where it is possible to do that.

In this, and the previous, section of this paper, I have explored how New Zealand PhD graduates, in the course of their studies, managed ""the practical rationalisation of space and time" (Harvey 1990, p. 259) – in multiple settings, such as households and families, and in sites of paid employment. As Popkewitz and Brennan, among others, have pointed out, such conceptions of space and time enable us to study how, in intellectual fields such as Educational Studies, "particular rules and standards of truth cross institutional patterns and are not reducible to these patterns." (1998, p. 12). Drawing on Foucault, they observe that this can "give focus to how the subject is to be known and knowing in a terrain not bound to geographical landscapes and physical points of reference but to discursively constructed practices" (Ibid, p. 12). How, then, do the graduates describe their constitution as 'subjects' of the 'academic subject', or discourses, of Education Studies?

Disciplining 'Education'

Sociologists of education have argued that "To understand knowledge, it is necessary to understand the institutions in which it is produced" (Gibbons et al, 1994, p. 82). "Disciplinary boundaries" have been studied as "the result of history, vested interest, financing, entrepreneurial opportunity or of academic coalitions" (Ibid, p. 148). In earlier work (1977; 1980a; 1980b), Foucault

explored "the formation of sciences (savoirs)...[and] the systems of power that regulate" their practices (1985, p. 4). In an often-quoted passage, he writes that:

> Power is employed and exercised through a net-like organisation. And not only do individuals circulate between its threads; they are always in the position of simultaneously undergoing and exercising this power. They are not only its inert or consenting target; they are always also the elements of its articulation. In other words, individuals are the vehicles of power, not its points of application (Foucault, 1977, p. 98).

As 'vehicles of power, ' fully-qualified 'education academics' have been granted 'permission to speak' as authorities in their field. "Education," said Christopher, "changes people" and:

> it's changed me quite dramatically because it's opened up new ways of thinking and new forms of independent thinking about topics. Being prepared to stand out on a limb and be accused of being wrong but knowing well there is a body of research that is emerging, or has emerged, there that would suggest that there might be some truth in what you're saying. So in that sense it does give you an academic independence which is valuable. For myself it's given me an area that I love to explore and it helps explain much of life so in that sense that's good too. So it's had those kinds of influences on me as a professional academic.

The academically independent voice, however, acknowledges the 'procedural rules' of the 'science' (Schutz, 1970, p. 12). To be 'authorised to speak', one is deemed to have mastered the conceptual apparatus, codes, and conventions of the discipline. Through practices such as referencing, one "cites the conventions of authority" (Butler, 1993, p. 13). As one graduate put it, for her it had been a "validation of myself and a validation of my thoughts. You know, 'she's always got an opinion about something but she's also got a PhD!' You're allowed to have an opinion if you've got a PhD."

The citation, or reiteration of 'disclipinary norms' is referred to by Butler and others (eg Lyotard, 1984) as 'performativity.' Butler (1993, p. 95) explains that "performativity cannot be understood outside of a process of iterability, a regularised and constrained repetition of norms. And this repetition is not performed by a subject; this repetition is what *enables* a subject and constitutes the temporal condition for a subject" (Butler, 1993, p. 95). The academic, like the judge, "does not originate the law or its authority; rather, he 'cites' the law, consults and reinvokes the law, and, in that reinvocation, reconstitutes the law" (ibid, p. 107). Butler argues that this view of performativity effectively "decentres the presentist view of the subject as the exclusive origin or owner of what is said" (Butler, 1993, p. 227).

Educationists have written about their experienced tension between 'citation' (or reiteration) and writing or speaking in their 'natural' voices (Christan-Smith & Kellor, 1999; Middleton, 1993; Roman & Eyre, 1997). Writing of her "decade-long encounter with Education as an academic field", Elizabeth Ellsworth (1998, p. 21) mourned the "absence of pleasure, plot, moving and being moved, metaphor, cultural artefacts, audience engagement and interaction" in much

educational writing. Linda Christian-Smith (1999, p. 50) has said of doctoral coursework that: "The loss of self was mirrored in a loss of voice during class discussions and in the awkward style of my writing. For the longest time, it was as if some other person were writing the essays and dissertation." Such 'loss of voice' was described in many of the interviews. There was humilation in 'falling down' from the position as 'A+' masters or honours student, and/or colleague, to novice:

> It was a real confidence rocker for me at the time because I'd gone through a bachelor's degree and a masters degree and got really good grades. When I was studying [overseas] I had a very high grade point average and then I came back to do a PhD and I was suddenly sitting there thinking, ' I don't know whether I'm up to this!'

This sense of alienation from academic language, this 'loss of voice', was particularly true of those from working-class backgrounds (Middleton, 2001), as Jonathon put it, "the self doubting elements were always there. They are still there ... and that's why the Ph.D. mattered." Similarly, Janine said, "I used to lie rigid at night thinking, ' I think I'm a fraud!' Lucy commented that: "Only this year I can stand up and talk, feel good. I still feel a hell of a fraud." And Sonia spoke of how she

> didn't believe for most of the process of doing my Ph.D that I could do it. I went crying around the department one day, saying I couldn't do it. I said, 'I cannot write a Ph.D, I've been found out!' This is an interesting epistemology: ' I have reached the limits of my ability and now I have been found out and I can't do a Ph.D.'

This feeling of being 'out of place, ' however, while at times painful, could also provide a 'critical edge'. Edward Said (1993, p. 39) has spoken of: "the pleasures of exile, those different arrangements of living and eccentric angles of vision that it can sometimes afford, which enliven the intellectual's vocation, without alleviating every last anxiety or feeling of bitter solitude."

Dee spoke of the process of coming to terms with 'inadequacies':

> You have got to strip down to your bones basically and all the things that you don't know and all the things you need to learn and it is a very humbling experience. And, because of that, a painful - but incredible - fruitful journey. It is both – bitter/sweet; pleasure/pain ambiguity. The whole process is a series of ambiguities. It is learning to relax in that ambiguity. It is learning to go with the roller coaster of emotions knowing that, sure, you might be hurtling downwards at the moment, but you will be hurtling upwards shortly and that will continue that amazing fascination. And that is normal!

There were many other descriptions of "the battle to be fought, the victory to be won, the defeat that one risked suffering ... processes and events that took place between oneself and oneself" (Foucault, 1985, p. 66). Perry explained that he thought that "a PhD teaches you a lot about your own stamina and your ability to keep going with something when it is pretty tough - I think that is probably the major thing. I think a lot of it is that kind of stickability that gets you through it."

Gordon described how: "Writing for me is hard work - *I really labour over it. I would like to think* that I write quite well because I work at it, and I am really hard on myself." Similarly, Lionel said:

> I don't type ... I like redrafting. I'm not a technological person at all but when I write I have a terrible desire to be a crafts person. So I'll write and write and rewrite and rewrite forever and that's why I had become quite a good teacher of how to write essays. But it's like playing the piano, I'm never satisfied ... it's a public performance as far as I'm concerned. Obsessive natures!

"Academics, " writes David Harvey, " surely will ... recognise that how we learn is very different from what we write" (Harvey, 1995, p. 60). With respect to her own doctoral studies, Cris Kellor talks of "the splitting I felt taking place between my mind and body ... and my belief that spirituality and non-cognitive ways of knowing were taboo in the academy" (1999, p. 29). She goes on to say that: "My research has helped me appreciate ways in which dominant educational discourses and practices work to keep minds and bodies disassociated in the processes involved in the construction of theory" (Ibid, p. 40). Yet, bodily aches and pains, tears, and illnesses punctuated the research projects. Rick remembered "one Saturday actually being sick 'cause I didn't know what to do with the data I had in front of me. I got up and vomited everywhere."

In his studies of 'care of the self,' Foucault draws attention to the scholar as 'embodied': "There is the care of the body to consider, health regimens, physical exercises without over-exertion, the carefully measured satisfaction of needs" (1985, p. 51). Jean used 'bodily pleasures' to reward herself for making progress. These rewards included:

> Buying myself stuff. Going out with friends to the movies. Sometimes I'd say, 'Right! If I've done two hours work I'll go down to the local cafe and have my favourite coffee and my favourite piece of food.' I'd reward myself sometimes with food, or I would go to the gym. I always had something that sort of patted me on the back for doing some stuff.

Interviewees' daily routines often included physical exercise. Emma, a competitive athlete, described how: "Usually in the morning I'd wake up about 6.00am or so and do a warm-up run for the day. I'd train properly later that evening. I'd do a couple of hours just before dinner. I'd go and have dinner and then do a little bit more thinking work."

A number created 'thinking space' while out walking or running and, in James's case, this led to a break-through:

> I knew I had to get it finished that year and at Easter I still hadn't written anything. I can remember going for a run. I couldn't get a structure for it. I couldn't work out how I was going to put it all together. I remember going for this run and suddenly I got an image in my mind of how I was going to structure the thing and what the chapter headings would be. I came rushing in and went straight into my study dripping with sweat and wrote it down. And that

> turned out to be the structure. Then I started writing. I just wrote solidly for about six to eight weeks and wrote it in that time. And very little of it had to go through second or third drafts - other than just editing.

Descriptions of 'break-throughs' or 'insights' or 'flashes of imagination' often included vivid accounts of the places in which they occurred. Owen described how:

> I didn't know quite what I was trying to argue, and then one day, believe it or not! We had a willow tree outside our first home. My wife was working. We were paying off a second mortgage and I was the cook. I'd just put on dinner; we had this willow tree, it was a beautiful day and I just climbed up into it and sat back, a clear day... And suddenly the whole thing came to me like a five-minute flash! I had to dash down, get some felt-tips and write it all out.

The completion of the thesis was sometimes described in spatial metaphors: " at the end of it you've reached the Zenith, you've reached a plateau. I don't know that I've come to touch that again." For others, the heightened emotions were more physical: "When I look back on it, the only other time that I felt the way that I have with the oral is when I found out that I was pregnant for the first time. Apart from the pregnancy and orals I've never experienced the same feeling of total exhilaration and self amazement that I'd managed to achieve such a thing."

I offer this paper as a further contribution to the growing literature that explores 'power-knowledge' relations in Education Studies as a 'subject', 'discipline, or 'field' (eg Blacker, 1998; Middleton, 1993, 1998; Popkewitz & Brennan, 1998). As 'vehicles of power,' the interviewees talked of feeling 'subjected' to the norms of the discipline, but also as 'walking around and talking back to authority' (Said, 1993, p. 90) as they learned to 'speak the language' of what counted as doctoral level research. Their research projects, like Foucault's, and like this present project, can contribute to "a philosophical exercise. The object" of which is " to learn to what extent the effort to think one's own history can free thought from what it silently thinks, and so enable it to think differently" (Foucault, 1985, p. 9).

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